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Policy." Since it has been proven, it ought to be further developed. Hence, the commitment to the "Strategic Defense Initiative" which, as the platform says, "is the most important contribution to the country's future security" and which must "be deployed soon and with utmost certainty." Hence, the intention "to implement a program for modernizing the strategic nuclear arsenal" and the determination to complete the program for expanding the Navy to 600 warships, including 15 aircraft carrier task forces.

Hence, also the persistent desire to speed up work on improving conventional arms technology.

As regards Soviet-U.S. relations, the following passage is noteworthy: "The Republicans will continue to work with the new Soviet leadership. But the conditions for the development of relations will depend on how certain fundamental principles are implemented, such as civil and religious rights in the Soviet Union, economic reform in the Soviet Union, cessation of the Soviet Union's support for communist regimes, radical groups, and terrorists," and so on and so forth.

Recommendations as to what the Soviet Union should do and how it should do it in order to gain Washington's favors are interlaced with categorical promises of support for the Nicaraguan contras and the armed opposition forces in Afghanistan.

I think that the following question is perfectly in order: If the Republicans gain victory, will their election platform become a program for the new administration's actions? Or is this platform just a tactical concession to the Republican Party's right wing?

Bogdanov Views U.S. Election Prospects *PM1608101888 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian*13 Aug 88 p 10

[Interview with R.G. Bogdanov, deputy director of the United States of America and Canada Institute, by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—"As far as I am concerned the picture is clear: Bush will lose, the Democrats will win, the Republicans will leave the White House, and the man we will have to deal with is none other than Michael Dukakis."

In shirtsleeves, American-style, Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov looked at the blue file in which every evening he inserts the printouts from the Moscow computer that follows the U.S. campaign step by step, glanced at the diary in which he has summarized all the reports he weekly receives from Washington, and pointed to the reports prepared by the group of analysts that have kept a close watch on Dukakis' and Bush's every move since January. It was like opening for the first time a ship's log of an extraordinary Soviet voyage around the mystery of the post-Reagan era—an attempt to understand the making of an American president from this vantage

point off Kalinin Avenue, where the United States of America and Canada Institute is located. Bogdanov is the institute's deputy director. He heads the Dukakis team, which reads, records, files, and deciphers every word of the speeches delivered by the Democratic candidate and which keeps a very up-to-date diary of his rallies and even his most insignificant meetings.

He said: "I once called one of the girls in the group at night while she was asleep. She recited for me all of Dukakis' appointments for the following day, as though she were his secretary. This is the first time we have followed the U.S. campaign so closely." It must be true, judging from what I saw from the first moment I entered the room where the "group" meets: The shelves carried not only the telephone directory for Boston—the "capital" of the Dukakis venture—but also the yellow pages and even the three supplements for Boston North, South, and West.

[Mauro] Dr Bogdanov, how and when did the Soviet Union discover Dukakis?

[Bogdanov] A year ago, by accident. To tell you the truth, at that time I was receiving some rather cool reports about the governor of Massachusetts, about his presidential ambitions, and, above all, about his chances. In June 1987, however, in Boston, Dukakis made his first major attempt to raise funds for his campaign. His official target was \$1 million and he easily reached \$2 million. That seemed to me an impressive result for someone with no chances, and I told our specialists to consult the computer.

[Mauro] What could a computer in Moscow know?

[Bogdanov] It confirmed my suspicions: In the past 20 years no Democratic candidate anywhere has ever collected as much money in his first attempt. So I told my staff that that Dukakis had to be followed a little more closely.

[Mauro] Did what you discovered persuade you that he could win?

[Bogdanov] It made us realize that if the Democrats win they will be new Democrats—not the ones we used to know—people who represent a new America tired of Reaganism.

[Mauro] Did you expect this rapid decline of Reaganism after Reagan?

[Bogdanov] No. All the analyses, reports, and investigations said that the election would be won by the party capable of guaranteeing wealth and development. From this viewpoint, the Republicans seemed to be in a winning position because inflation is low, productivity is FBIS-SOV-88-158 16 August 1988

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United States & Canada

Reagan Convention Speech Attacks Democrats LD1608072088 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] New Orleans August 16 TASS—The speech by President Reagan provided the highlight of the first day of the National Republican Convention in New Orleans.

In his speech, the president heaped praise on the eightyear rule by the Republican administration and attacked Democrats accusing them of nearly every trouble in America. It followed from Reagan's speech that the return of Democrats to power would lead to a rise in inflation, unemployment and other economic calamities. At the same time, he asserted that the election of George Bush as U.S. president will bring to America prosperity, "new possibilities" and confidence in the future.

The American press calls Reagan the best weapon of the Republicans in the struggle to retain control over the White House. His speech at the congress, broadcast by all U.S. TV companies, was addressed not only to the delegates of the Republican Convention but also to the entire country. This was the call to America to elect George Bush as his successor. George Bush will be elected on Wednesday as official candidate of the Republican Party to the post of U.S. president.

Republicans Complete Draft of Party Platform LD1508121288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 15 Aug 88

[Excerpts] The U.S. Republican Party Convention opens in New Orleans today. Our special correspondent, Vladimir Gerasichev, reports:

[Gerasichev] The convention's opening ceremony and elections to its working commissions and committees will take place today. Work was completed yesterday on the draft of the Republican Party political platform. Republicans today are saying with pride that their platform is much larger than the Democratic platform and that it defines the directions of U.S. domestic and foreign policies more specifically and in greater detail. [passage omitted] The Republican platform is to be approved at the convention, but even now one can say that many things in this draft put one on one's guard. The further development of relations with the Soviet Union, for example, is made dependent on numerous demands and conditions. The authors of the draft have patently taken aim at interference in our country's internal affairs, and not only ours. For example, the draft also makes provision for granting military aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Acknowledging the importance of the historic treaty to scrap intermediate- and shorterrange missiles, the prospects for further progress at the talks on nuclear and space arms are made dependent on unilateral concessions by the Soviet Union. It looks as if the Republican leaders are presenting their party with an even more conservative platform than that adopted in 1980.

Tower Cited on Platform

PM1508133388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch: "USA: Republicans Setting Markers"]

[Text] New Orleans— It is said that if the Republicans gain victory in the November presidential elections, John Tower, former senator from Texas and current leader of the strategic arms group of the U.S. delegation to the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms, could be appointed secretary of defense.

This, as a matter of fact, was why I asked him to comment on the provisions of the Republican Party's election platform concerning defense and foreign policy questions. The platform was confirmed on Friday [12 August] at the latest session of the Platform Committee of the Republican Convention, which is due to open 15 August.

According to John Tower, the main point is that "we are relying strongly on the Strategic Defense Initiative. This is a very important aspect of our election platform." At the same time, the [former] senator went on, "we have spoken out in favor of progress in the arms control talks and specifically of progress as regards reduction of strategic arms and progress in the conventional arms sphere."

A few explanations are in order. The platform's adoption by this committee means that it will be automatically confirmed by the convention. Delegates will simply rubberstamp it without lengthy discussions.

Even though the committee consists of just over 100 members, the platform could be described as the brain-child of only a handful of people—G. Bush and his closest advisers. On his arrival in New Orleans, the vice president delivered a speech which was essentially a briefing. The speech and backstage conversations formulated the positions which Bush would like to see in the election platform.

These positions have been fully taken into account. True enough, Bush also took into account the wishes expressed by various groupings within the Republican movement, and primarily the right-wing groupings whose support, as CBS-TV noted, the vice president needs in particular in his struggle for the seat in the White House.

The key slogan of the foreign policy and defense sections of the Republicans' election platform is formulated in its title: "Peace From a Position of Strength—A Proven

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increasing, and all the signs are in their favor. However, the opinion polls show that the voters are leaning toward the Democrats. It is an exception to the rule—a sign that something is changing.

[Mauro] Does that mean that the dollar is no longer a decisive factor in the vote?

[Bogdanov] I can predict that the rate on the dollar will increase considerably even before November. Indeed I have a suspicion that Japan and Germany want to help the Republicans greatly. The dollar has risen a great deal recently already and is improving precisely thanks to help from Tokyo and Bonn. As far as I am concerned, this is clear support for Bush. However, I do not know whether this will now be enough to win the election.

[Mauro] Does the USSR not risk helping Bush with the fifth Reagan-Gorbachev summit?

[Bogdanov] I will be frank with you: We have become so realistic and pragmatic that we think about pursuing our own policy and do not worry about who will benefit or suffer from our moves. Let the Americans decide. We will work with Reagan and the Republicans to the last. Gorbachev has already said that he is willing to meet immediately with the new president, whoever he may be. Of course we too are holding discussions to see whether Bush or Dukakis would suit us better. These are internal discussions, however, and purely academic.

[Mauro] Do you mean that your realpolitik extends as far as not choosing between the liberal Dukakis and the conservative Republicans?

[Bogdanov] You see, we have had dealings with both Republican and Democratic presidents and have encountered difficulties in both cases. In fact the problems have been greater with the Democrats, though I believe that almost everything has changed now.

[Mauro] In what way?

[Bogdanov] Insofar as we and our policy have changed. Let us take the case of regional conflicts: This has always been a difficult subject to broach with the Republicans—but because we were unwilling to do so. Now, following our withdrawal from Afghanistan, everything is different. And what about human rights? With the Democrats this was always a thorny problem and a painful one for us. However, having said that we are at last willing to discuss it; what difference does it make whether it is with a Republican or a Democrat?

[Mauro] Some months ago, however, following a meeting with a group of American senators, it was said that Gorbachev hoped for a victory by Bush. How much truth is there in this?

[Bogdanov] Gorbachev knows Bush personally, has seen him four times, and has had a very fruitful private meeting with him. I can say that the human rapport established between the two is not bad. Such things are of no political value, however. Gorbachev is willing to work with any American president, and this is what counts.

[Mauro] Is it true that the man you would miss most in the event of a Democratic victory is George Shultz?

[Bogdanov] Shultz has a very good personal rapport with Shevardnadze, and with Gorbachev, too. He is a secretary of state of a very high caliber, one of the best ever. He has nothing to fear from a change of administration because he already has a place in history.

[Mauro] Dr Bogdanov, is there not a little too much sadness on the Soviets' part over the Reaganites' departure?

[Bogdanov] No sadness. Moreover, we know that U.S. politics make up a complex mechanism and in any case it will be necessary to maintain relations with all parts of this mechanism, with all its components, though we cannot yet say who will be in the White House and who will be out.

[Mauro] Could you hazard a forecast?

[Bogdanov] I have a clear impression, though a few accidents would be enough to alter everything. As things stand, however, Dukakis will win.

[Mauro] Are you ready for this?

[Bogdanov] To be frank, few of us know him personally. However, we are well- acquainted, really well-acquainted, with the people around him—the so-called Harvard group. We have formed our opinion through them.

[Mauro] What is that opinion?

[Bogdanov] Our pictures show a very good, efficient, and active governor capable of healthy economic management and with great popularity among the people of his state. Perhaps the picture shows that candidate Dukakis is slightly weak in foreign policy. But was Reagan an expert when he became president? And what about Carter? Any president must first have a good secretary of state and a good national security adviser. He has to contribute realism, a rational approach, and a good political instinct.

[Mauro] Dr Bogdanov, when will you visit Washington or Boston?

[Bogdanov] Not before January. It would be pointless. The Americans come here anyway—some weeks even three of them a day.

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[Mauro] What does your computer say: Will Dukakis get along with Gorbachev?

[Bogdanov] This is very difficult to predict because the sphere of human relations is unfathomable. However, the two are more or less the same age, are not preppies, and both have cultural interests. So there is a foundation. In any case whom should we fear after Reagan? We got along with him, and we will do so with Dukakis, too.

Polls Seen as Unreliable Election Predictors PM1508112388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the rubric "Ups and Downs in Presidential Election Marathon": "Election Without Certainty"]

[Text] New York—Another opinion poll, another disappointment for George Bush. If we believe the results of research recently carried out on the instructions of THE NEW YORK TIMES and the CBS television company, the number of voters well disposed toward Bush as the future head of the White House is far smaller than the contender would wish. The attitude toward Michael Dukakis, official candidate for the Democratic Party, is quite different: The number of his well-wishers is double that of those dissatisfied with him.

The survey also confirmed another trend: The growing belief among Americans that it is the Democrats who are able and willing to help the middle class. Almost 85 percent of the respondents put themselves in this class.

It seems that in the last few months there has not been a single poll which has put George Bush in the lead. What does this signify? Not very much, apparently.

History has known cases where gigantic leaps ahead recorded at the summer stage of the election marathon have trailed away to nothing by November and election day. This was the case, for example, in 1948, when Thomas Dewey had a 13-percent lead over Harry Truman, the incumbent at the time who was running for re-election, but lost on the day of decision.

The difference in popularity must inevitably be reduced when, following the Democrats, who increased Dukakis's prestige with a lavish convention show in Atlanta, the Republicans hold their own national forum in New Orleans—an equally impressive affair which is also calculated primarily to give the voters a sharp, clear picture of the merits of their candidate for the U.S. presidential chair.

It is expected that soon after their convention the Republicans will resort to their most powerful weapon—Ronald Reagan—who, for the most diverse reasons, has not played a particularly active role in the election campaign so far. The authority and popularity of the current head of the White House will be needed in the west, in

California. Many experts, including people like former President Nixon, believe that this will ultimately decide the battle between Bush and Dukakis.

That is why I feel that polls are polls and do not shed any real light on the subject. In this respect it is worth pointing out that having spoken in favor of Dukakis and the Democrats and once again having expressed lack of confidence in Bush and the Republicans, American voters virtually nullified their opinion in the next breath. When they were asked whether they feel that the candidates do not say what they believe but only what they think the voters want to hear, the voters were almost unanimous in their response: Yes, they do feel that—about Bush and about Dukakis.

So how can they make a choice?

China

U.S. Sincerity on Regional Issues Questioned OW1608014988 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Among the news received by this station's editorial department, reports from the XINHUA news agency caught our attention. A spokesman for the PRC Foreign Ministry expressed regret over the U.S. Senate passage a few days ago of an amendment introduced by Senator Dole. We would like to address our listeners' attention to the following facts:

Senator Dole's amendment calls on China to stop selling weapons to Middle Eastern countries because such sales might destabilize the region. The senator even suggests that if China does not stop such sales, the United States will re-examine U.S.-Chinese relations. Here, we clearly see that even today, when new thinking is gradually prevailing in the international arena, the United States still [words indistinct] acts as an international judge, and uses sanctions as a means to threaten those who do not listen to it.

Against such a background, let us talk about another issue: Whether or not the United States is sincere in expressing anxiety over sales of weapons to the world's hot spots. We might understand U.S. anxiety if it sets a good example for others regarding this issue. However, the United States is far from this. Take the Middle East, for example. The extremely dangerous situation in the Middle East is attributed to the U.S. sale of great volumes of weapons to Israel, and such a dangerous situation [words indistinct]. The United States has not changed its policy. It plans to provide its strategic ally with \$1.3 billion in military aid in fiscal year 1989. This action will only make the already fierce Arab-Israeli conflict even fiercer.

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